

two staves drawn above it, with the lower left blank. The rest of the text has only one staff above it, but the two lines of text are separated by enough space to accommodate another complete staff. It would seem that the scribe who copied the text anticipated a two-part piece written in score in the characteristically English manner (see Chapter XX).

Despite these uncertainties with regard to *Byrd one breve*, the attractiveness of both its text and its melody makes us wish that the English had been less reticent in giving musical expression to their amorous moods. Indeed, from the quality of the extant songs it is evident that England must have enjoyed a high level of vernacular musical culture in the thirteenth century. How many pieces have been lost we shall never know, but none of those that do exist can have been the only work of an inexperienced composer. It is unfortunate—and frustrating—that we should possess such scanty remains of an obviously rich heritage.

## CHAPTER XIV

### Sacred and Secular Polyphony in the Thirteenth Century

The thirteenth century witnessed a new relationship between musical activities that had hitherto followed separate paths. From the beginning, polyphony had been the province of church musicians, who used it as an ornament of liturgical chant, including tropes and sequences, and for settings of religious or moral Latin poetry. Purveyors of music for secular entertainment in the vernacular had confined themselves almost entirely to monophonic song. With the appearance of the secular French motet in the thirteenth century, the two paths began to cross. Monophonic songs continued to be written, even into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but they were soon overshadowed and eventually stifled by the luxuriant growth of secular polyphony that quickly followed the creation of the motet. The effect of this new form on liturgical polyphony was even more immediate and therefore more dramatic. By 1225 the composition of organum appears to have ceased, and by the middle of the century the conductus too was nearly extinct. The motet was now, and for the next fifty years remained, not merely the preeminent, but almost the sole form of polyphonic composition. We are adopting the attitude of its contemporaries, therefore, when we regard the sacred or secular motet with Latin or French texts as the representative form of thirteenth-century polyphony.

The addition of secular French texts to discant clausulae appears to have followed closely on the creation of motets as sacred tropes (see Chapter X). This is evident from both the oldest motet repertory and the name of the form itself. In the thirteenth century, *mots* (words) commonly designated the text of a secular song. Hence the Latinized form *motetus* was an appropriate name for a clausula with a secular French text. This derivation of the name from French rather than Latin is an indication that the early motet with Latin text was not yet regarded as an independent form. At that time, a clausula with an added Latin trope would have still been a clausula, but now *cum littera* (with text), a phrase that applied to any polyphony in syllabic rather than melismatic style. From the beginning, presumably, clausulae with French texts were intended for secular entertainment and had no functional connection with organum. As pieces with Latin texts more gradually lost that connec-

tion, they too came to be known as motets. By the time of the Renaissance—such are the paradoxes of language—the name derived from French was applied almost exclusively to polyphonic settings of sacred Latin texts.

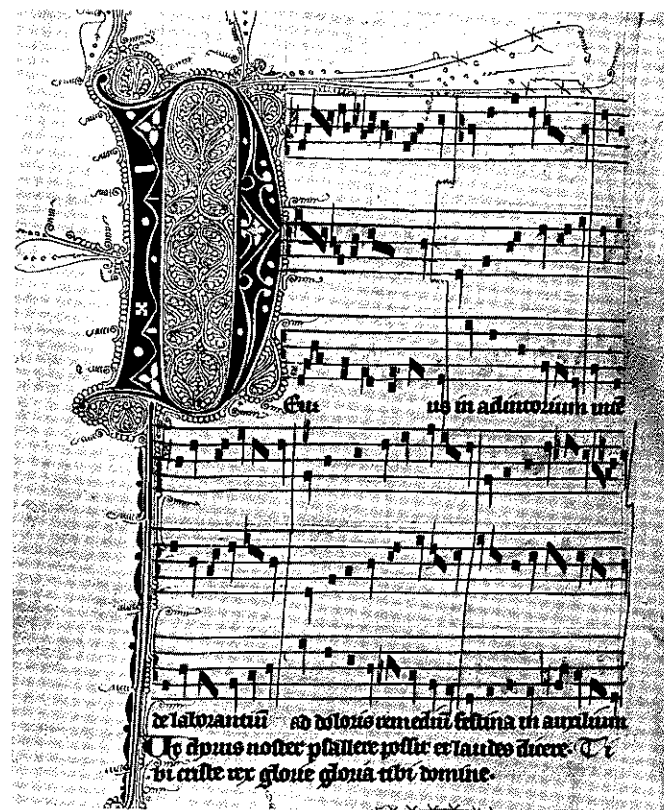
## LATIN AND FRENCH MOTETS

To some extent, Latin and French motets developed along parallel lines during the course of the thirteenth century. It seems advisable, therefore, to deal with those characteristics common to both types before considering special features that relate French motets to the secular songs of the trouvères. Both began with the addition of texts to preexistent clausulae, and the same clausula often provided the music for Latin tropes of the tenor's text and for French secular songs. The different texts added to Perotin's clausula *Ex semine*, for example, illustrate this early procedure (see above, Chapter X, and AMM, No. 38). The next step in creating a repertory of motets, logically enough, was the composition of new music in the style of discant clausulae. Composers used the familiar tenors of Notre Dame clausulae for many of their new motets, but they also began to draw tenors from chants that had not previously been given polyphonic settings. In these cases, we are sometimes faced with problems of priority. We do not always know whether a motet is newly composed or whether it was based on a clausula now lost. Even the existence of one piece as both a clausula and a motet does not always solve the problem, for in some cases, original motets may have been converted into clausulae by removal of their text.<sup>1</sup> There would seem to have been little need to expand the already extensive collections of clausulae in this fashion. That such a claim can be made, however, is striking proof that the clausula and motet were musically identical in the first half of the thirteenth century.

## CONDUCTUS MOTET

Whether newly composed or derived from preexistent clausulae, the great majority of early motets were for two voices only. In a much smaller number of pieces for three and four voices, all voices above the tenor sang the same text, resulting in a form known as the *conductus motet*. A few of these are French motets, but most have Latin texts, many of which trope the text of the tenor. Perotin's clausula *Ex semine* once again provides characteristic examples, this time of a conductus motet that exists with both Latin and French texts (see Chapter X, pp.

1. See E. Thurston, *The Music of the St. Victor Manuscript*, p. 1 of Introduction; also, W. Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony*, p. 101.



The conductus *Deus in adiutorium* from the Codex Vari 42 (Turin, Royal Library).

253–55). The term *conductus motet* is something more than a convenient modern label for this type of composition. There can be little doubt that the idea of having two or three voices sing the same text came from the conductus, and confusion between the two forms evidently existed in the thirteenth century. Collections of true conducti in the Notre Dame manuscripts, particularly *W*<sub>1</sub>, sometimes included conductus motets *without their tenors*. Whether they were so performed we do not know. The result would be musically satisfactory in some cases, but less so in others.<sup>2</sup> The upper voices of a conductus motet were normally written in score, with the text beneath, while the tenor appeared by itself at the end. It is possible that the scribes who entered these pieces in collections of conducti either mistook their true nature or simply forgot to copy the tenor parts. At any rate, the intermingling of conducti and conductus motets clearly justifies describing the latter as settings in conductus style above a plainchant tenor.

2. For part of a four-voice conductus motet without the tenor and arguments for performance in this way, see NOHM, 2, p. 365 ff. and Ex. 197. See also H. Tischler, "English Traits in the early 13th-century Motet," MQ, 30 (1944), pp. 470–71. Tischler's statements are not entirely accurate. In the Florence manuscript (*F*), the final note of the tenor *Manere* is C, not A, and is perfectly concordant with the other voices.

As a musical form, the conductus motet proved to be short-lived. Its disappearance is probably related in some way to the disappearance of the conductus itself, but the difficulty of adding the same text to more than one voice may well have speeded its demise. Conductus style demanded phrases of equal length with an approximately equal number of notes. Passages in which phrases began or ended at different times or overlapped in imitation and canon would require extensive modification for use with a single text.<sup>3</sup> Such modifications were made in the conductus motets created from Perotin's four-voice setting of *Sederunt* (see Chapter X), but the practice did not win general acceptance. Instead, the obstacles to adding words to more than one voice were overcome by abandoning the conductus motet altogether. The solution adopted by poets and composers may seem strange to us, but it was perfectly logical given the problems they faced. They simply gave each voice above the tenor its own text. As a result, we now regard use of more than one text (polytextuality) as an essential characteristic of the thirteenth-century motet. This view somewhat overlooks the conductus motet, but it is certainly accurate for the last half of the century. Moreover, polytextuality remains characteristic of the motet throughout the rest of the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance.

### POLYTEXTUAL MOTETS

The advent of polytextuality in the motet introduces a new and somewhat confusing terminology. *Double motets* have two upper voices, and *triple motets* have three, each with its own text. In addition, of course, double and triple motets have tenors, so that each class has one more voice and one more text than the name seems to imply. In the older manuscripts, the placement of syllables beneath the tenor usually agrees with the original chant. Later sources tend to ignore this placement and give the text as an identifying tag at the beginning of the tenor part. This practice suggests that motets had lost any functional connection with liturgical chants and that tenors may have become instrumental rather than vocal parts. Both developments would follow naturally on the appearance of French motets with secular texts and might then have influenced the performance of sacred motets. In any case, the terms *double* and *triple motet* designate the number of voices with different texts above the tenor, not the complete number of voices in the composition. Two-voice motets with a tenor melisma and a motetus would presumably be termed *single*, although they are not usually so called.

In the older repertory of the Notre Dame manuscripts, two-voice

3. See HAM, No. 28i, for a three-voice clausula, *I'los filius*, and the motet with two different texts that the structure of the upper voices required.

motets far outnumber those for three voices, most of which are conductus motets. Four-voice motets are extremely rare. This situation changes radically in motet collections from the second half of the thirteenth century, and the three-voice double motet becomes the standard form.

Apart from this shift of emphasis to the double motet, the chronological development of the form in the later thirteenth century is difficult to trace. Unlike the manuscript collections of trouvère songs, motet manuscripts almost never give the names of composers. Moreover, they group motets in ways that inextricably mix old and new pieces, motets based on clausulae and original compositions. Even in sections of manuscripts that contain later additions to the repertory, such as the last two fascicles of *Mo*, many motets still resemble the tropes and contrafacta of clausulae, although they are not known to exist in that form. In these cases it is impossible to tell whether a motet is really old or merely the product of an old-fashioned composer. Not all composers were conservative, however, and some motets reveal that the development of polyphony was beginning to take a new direction. That these pieces may be relatively few in number in no way detracts from their historical importance. Then, as always, the experiments of a progressive minority introduced new concepts of style and technique that would become traditional for later generations.

The new direction in the development of polyphony becomes particularly obvious when motets are compared with conducti. For uniformity of style and the constructivist devices that integrate the voices of a conductus, the motet substitutes diversity of style by giving each voice a distinctive rhythmic and melodic character. To some extent, of course, this diversity was inherent in the motet from its beginnings. Repeated rhythmic patterns and the frequent use of the fifth rhythmic mode already differentiated tenors from the upper voice or voices of clausulae, and structural differences between those voices were responsible, at least in part, for their being given different texts. In itself, this process emphasized the distinctive character of each voice and led composers to seek ways of achieving still greater diversity. The origin of the motet as a trope probably accounts for the use of related texts in double or triple motets. At any rate, the relationship is particularly obvious when texts are genuine tropes. It is sometimes less obvious in motets with texts that appear to be related only because they are secular and in French. The height of textual disparity is reached in a few motets with texts in different languages. One fascicle of *Mo* has eleven such motets with sacred Latin dupla and secular French tripla, and a few more bilingual motets appear elsewhere in the manuscript.<sup>4</sup> The intended function of these pieces is difficult to imagine. Many exist in other sources with

4. See G. Anderson, "Notre Dame Bilingual Motets."

Latin texts in both voices, but this is not necessarily their original form.<sup>5</sup> If they represent an attempt to achieve diversity of style by textual means, they must now be regarded as another short-lived experiment that did not win general approval. The great majority of motets employed different but related texts in the same language. As a starting point for the development of musical diversity, the presence of these different texts was quite sufficient.

### RHYTHMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE LATER THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Because early motets naturally followed clausulae in their dependence on modal rhythms, the use of different modes for the tenor and the upper voices was already common. The logical and, indeed, the only possible means of distinguishing the upper voices from each other was to apply the same procedure to them. Thus we find motets with a tenor in the fifth mode, a triplum in the sixth, and a duplum in the first or second. The simplicity of this solution made it immediately attractive, but it would not long have remained so had it not offered opportunities for further development. As a first step in this development, the breves of the sixth mode in the triplum were subdivided into shorter values. Semibreves had been used before, but only in ornamental figures on syllables that received the full value of a long or breve. The new departure made each semibreve an independent note by giving it a syllable of its own. A French motet, *Pucelete—Je languis—Domino*, illustrates an early stage in this development.<sup>6</sup> The tenor has phrases of irregular length but moves in the even note values of the fifth rhythmic mode, while the duplum is primarily in the second mode with one long phrase in the fifth. In the Florence manuscript, these two voices exist as a clausula, to which the triplum is obviously a later addition. It moves consistently in a rhythmic pattern, ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩, that would be no more than a variant of the sixth mode were it not for the separate syllables on each semibreve (eighth note). The result is a charming and lively evocation of the maiden for whom, presumably, the singer of the duplum languishes.

The use of semibreves as independent notes with separate syllables of text is an indication that composers were seeking to break away from the rigidity of the rhythmic modes. A slightly different attempt in this direction is evident in another French motet, *Dame de valor—Hei Diex! cant je remir—Amoris* (AMM, No. 53). In this piece the voices are less

An example of a thirteenth-century motet, *Ave Virgo—Ave gloriosa—Domino* (Bamberg Staatsbibliothek).



sharply differentiated but more irregular within themselves than was the case in *Pucelete—Je languis—Domino*. The tenor comes from the verse of *Alleluia: Veni Sancte Spiritus* (LU, p. 880) and consists of four statements of a fifteen-note melody, with the last two notes of the final statement omitted to permit an ending on C.<sup>7</sup> Both the first and last statements have two three-note groups in the fifth rhythmic mode. The rest of the tenor moves in three-note groups in the first mode. Apart from a few measures in the fifth mode, the duplum is a characteristic example of a text set to the note values of the first mode with those values frequently broken into ornamental figures of two or three shorter notes. Much of the triplum is also in the first mode and follows the same procedure but with an even greater number of ornamental figures. In addition, however, several measures have the same rhythmic pattern as the triplum *Pucelete*, and in one case (m. 35) the first breve of the sixth mode is subdivided into three semibreves, each with its own syllable of text.

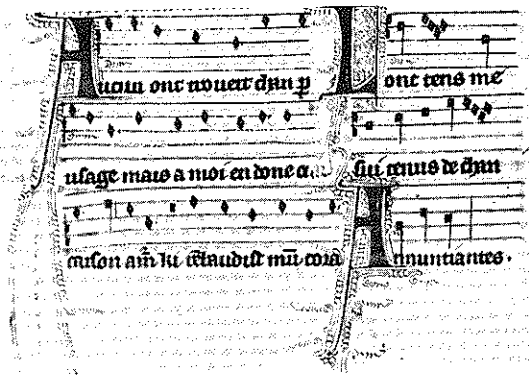
*Dame de valor—Hei Diex! cant je remir—Amoris* is of particular interest, not only in itself but also because of the prior history of its musical setting. The Florence manuscript preserves the tenor and duplum both as a clausula and as a two-voice Latin motet *Veni, salva nos* (Come, save us) that paraphrases the text of the *Alleluia* verse from which the tenor comes. Its irregular and inaccurate modal notation may lead one to believe that this clausula was created from a motet rather than vice versa.<sup>8</sup>

5. See HAM, No. 32b, for a double motet with a Latin duplum and a French triplum in *Mo*, but with a Latin triplum related to the duplum in *Ba*.

6. Grout, HWM, pp. 104–05, Ex. III–12, and HAM, No. 28h 2. Motets are usually identified by the incipits of their texts, beginning with the topmost voice and reading down to the tenor. Some writers, however, list the incipit of the duplum first.

7. The tenor is actually two statements, slightly modified, of the melisma, which itself includes one repetition of the basic phrase.

8. Waite, *Rhythm*, p. 101. The clausula is No. 141 (fol. 163v) in Ludwig's catalog of clausulae in *F* (*Repertorium*, p. 83). The motet appears on fol. 411 in *F*.



The opening of a motet by Pierre de la Croix, *Aucun ont trouue*—*Long tens*—*Anuntiantes* (Turin, Royal Library).

At any rate, one of the versions in *F* must represent the original musical form. Franco of Cologne quotes the beginning of the tenor and duplum with another Latin text, *Virgo Dei plena* (Virgin, pregnant of God).<sup>9</sup> A manuscript from Lille preserves the duplum with still a third Latin text, *O quam sollempnis legatio* (O how solemn an embassy). It was as a French double motet, however, that the music received its widest distribution. The tenor and motetus with French text appear five times in four manuscripts, but with two different triplum melodies and texts.<sup>10</sup> The older triplum *Por vos amie criem* (I fear for you, friend) betrays its age by its rather rigid adherence to the patterns of the first rhythmic mode. Replacement of this triplum by *Dame de valeur*, with its freer and more flexible rhythms, modernizes the motet and brings it into line with contemporary stylistic trends. Together with its previous incarnations, then, the motet epitomizes almost the entire history of the form from its beginnings to the end of the thirteenth century.

Before the century closed, however, composers had taken a further step in freeing themselves from the restrictions imposed by the rhythmic modes by breaking up more breves into even smaller note values. With fine disregard for linguistic logic, the theorists called all of these smaller notes *semibreves*, although from two to seven or eight might replace a single breve. Jacques de Liège, in his encyclopedic *Speculum musicae* (Mirror of Music), written in the early part of the fourteenth century, credits Pierre de la Croix with being the first to subdivide the breve into four or more semibreves. Furthermore, Jacques quotes examples from motets by Pierre de la Croix and thus rescues at least some of his works from the general anonymity of the thirteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Pierre de la Croix was active as a composer and theorist at least until 1298, and he therefore represents the final stylistic developments of the century. We cannot assume, however, that every motet in the new style is one of his compositions. Other composers must have been quick to exploit the innovations that broke through the limitations of the rhythmic

mic modes and made it possible to attain extremes of melodic diversity.

Even a moderate application of the new techniques, as in the motet *Aucun vont—Amor qui cor—Kyrie* (AMM, No. 54), produces striking contrasts of style in the different voices. That the tenor melody is a Kyrie (from Mass IX, LU, p. 40) rather than a melisma from a responsorial chant is already an indication that the piece as a whole does not belong to the first period of motet composition. A second indication comes from the two statements of the tenor melody in unbroken series of long notes. These aspects of the tenor suggest that the three-voice setting is probably the original form of the motet, although one source omits the triplum. The setting of the duplum text adheres strictly to the note values of the second rhythmic mode, but the frequent use of *fractio modi* gives greater flexibility and freedom to the melody itself. True freedom comes in the lively triplum, however, which only once settles down to match the slower pace of the duplum (mm. 9–14). For the rest, the triplum moves in unpatterned successions of single and divided breves. Most of the latter are replaced by only two or three semibreves, but a few groups of four, five, and six semibreves also occur. To organize this capricious flow of melody in the triplum, the composer has grouped the lines of text into phrases of irregular length, all of which end with the rhymes “-ment” or “-gent.” In so doing, he established yet another contrast with the duplum, which consists entirely of regular four-measure phrases. The two voices, moreover, never begin or end their phrases together except at the beginning and end of the motet.

Medieval music, as a rule, makes little effort to reflect either the emotions or the meanings of its texts. In the present instance, however, it is impossible not to feel that the musical setting of *Aucun vont—Amor qui cor—Kyrie* is a witty commentary on the motet's textual disparities. The Latin duplum, in commonplace rhymed couplets of seven-syllable lines, indicts love that generates carnal passion as a transient thing displeasing to the Lord. The triplum, in lines of uneven length with irregularly placed rhymes, defends love against its detractors in highly voluble French. To these contrasts of language, form, and sentiment the diversity of melodic styles forms a perfect complement. The music even adds a third dimension to the humor by staging the debate above a tenor melody in the even, but here greatly retarded, rhythm of plainchant. In this range from liturgical solemnity through moral rectitude to irreverent gaiety, the motet preserves in miniature the spirit of its time.

## FROM MODAL TO MENSURAL NOTATION

It is evident that the different note values in the triplum *Aucun vont* could not have been expressed in modal notation. Indeed, the limitations of modal notation prevented its use in motets long before the many subdivisions of the breve began breaking down the system of the

9. CS, 1, p. 130 and Strunk, SR, p. 154.

10. The motet with the triplum *Por vos amie* occurs in *Mo* (No. 86) and *Cl* (No. 48). It reappears with the text *Dame de valeur* in the later repertory of the seventh fascicle of *Mo* (No. 281) and also in *Ba* and *Tu* (see Bibliography).

11. HAM, No. 34, is one motet of Pierre de la Croix cited in the *Speculum musicae*. HAM, No. 35, is another, but anonymous, example of the same style.



rhythmic modes. As in the conductus, the syllabic setting of texts in the upper voices of motets meant that single notes, or groups of two or three notes on one syllable, replaced the regular ligature patterns of modal notation. What was needed, of course, was a means of indicating the values of these single notes, and we cannot help but wonder that it took so long to find the obvious solution to the problem. It seems extraordinary, for example, that the large collections of conducti and motets in the Notre Dame manuscripts should have been written almost entirely in unmeasured note values. Performers then must have often been in doubt as to the correct rhythmic interpretation of these pieces, just as transcribers are now. Clearly this was the case, or the system of measured note values that we know as mensural notation would never have developed.

During the second quarter of the thirteenth century, various theorists began advocating the use of differently shaped notes to indicate specific rhythmic values. It remained for Franco of Cologne, however, to build a system in which the value of every note could be expressed by a distinctive notational sign. This he did in his treatise *Ars cantus mensurabilis* (The Art of Measurable Song), written about 1260.<sup>12</sup> Useful as the system was, it did not win immediate acceptance, and several manuscripts of the later thirteenth century<sup>13</sup> still use older, pre-Franconian forms of mensural notation. Nevertheless, the principles established by Franco provided the starting point for all future developments in the notation of Western music. In addition to their great historical interest, those principles both reflected and to some extent controlled the rhythmic characteristics of music in their time. It is necessary, therefore, to examine briefly the bases of Franconian notation.

In Franco's time, we must remember, the system of rhythmic modes still governed the metrical organization of motets, even though modal notation could not be used. Thus we again face the strange fact that individual notes, despite their distinctive shapes, may have different values according to the context in which they appear.<sup>14</sup> Influenced by the ever-present triple meter, theorists came to regard the longa ultra mensuram, equal to three breves, as the normal or perfect long; a long equal to only two breves was therefore imperfect. Franco attributed the perfection of the number three to its association with the Holy Trinity, but we should not assume that the almost exclusive use of triple meter in the thirteenth century resulted from a deliberate attempt to represent the Trinity in musical terms. Both the historical development of the rhythmic modes and the earlier terminology for describing them deny any such assumption. Triple meter we must regard as a more or less un-















12. Strunk, SR, pp. 139-59.

13. Notably *Ba* and much of *Mo*.

14. See Chapter IX for a discussion of this problem in connection with the rhythmic modes and modal notation.

foreseen consequence of the modal system and its adaptations of rhythmic patterns to permit their simultaneous use. Moreover, the idea that three is the most perfect number because it is the first to have a beginning, middle, and end goes back to the Pythagorean philosophers and thus antedates the advent of Christianity by several centuries. It was probably not theological symbolism but rather the place of music as a mathematical discipline in the quadrivium of university studies that was largely responsible for equating perfection with the ternary units of the rhythmic modes. Be that as it may, the ternary longs of the third, fourth, and fifth modes were perfect in both Franconian and later terminology, while the imperfect longs of the first and second modes required an additional breve to complete the perfections of the mode. These breves are said to imperfect the longs that they precede or follow. In the third and fourth modes, the pairs of breves consist, as before, of a *brevis recta* and a *brevis altera*. The duration of the "correct" or proper breve is described as being one *tempus* (time), and the altered breve equals two *tempora*. None of this is really new, but Franco did make an important innovation when he established the principle that the tempus, the duration of the breve, was itself a ternary value. It could thus be divided into three minor semibreves of equal value or into two unequal semibreves, of which the first was minor and the second, twice as long, was major. These subdivisions of the breve together with its use as a measure of duration make transcription in measures of 3/4 meter more appropriate than 6/8 for motets from the latter part of the thirteenth century. For the sake of consistency, and because it is often difficult to decide when to make the change, it has been common practice to transcribe all motets of this period in 3/4, even those derived from clausulae that would be transcribed in 6/8.<sup>15</sup> As used in motets, then, the note shapes and relative values of Franconian notation produce the modern equivalents shown in Table 11.

Table 11: Single Notes and Values of Franconian Notation

Name and shape of note	Value (in tempora)	Modern equivalent
Duplex long 	6	
Perfect long 	3	
Imperfect long 	2	
Breve 	1	
Altered breve 	2	
Semibreve:		
Minor + major 	$\frac{1}{3} + \frac{2}{3}$	
Three minor 	$\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3}$	

15. See, for example, the clausula and motet in HAM, No. 28h.

Except for the concept of the ternary breve, Franco invented neither the note shapes of mensural notation nor their values. His great contribution in this line lay in the establishment of rules for both the correct notation of rhythms and the correct reading of that notation. It thus became possible to determine with absolute certainty when longs should be perfect or imperfect and when breves should be altered. The first and most basic of Franco's rules states that a long before a long is perfect. Taking this invariable rule as a starting point, Franco then details the situations in which breves may imperfect longs or must themselves be altered. A single breve must form part of a perfection (a  $3/4$  measure) and may therefore imperfect either a preceding or following long. When two breves stand between longs, the second must be altered so that the two together form a perfection. (The need for this procedure results from Franco's first rule, which prevents writing the values  $\text{long} \text{ breve } \text{long}$  as breve-long-long.) Three breves between longs will normally form a perfection by themselves. Series of four or more breves between longs may be treated in different ways. If one breve remains after dividing the series into groups of three, it will imperfect the preceding or following long. When two breves remain at the end of the series, the second will again be altered. To prevent the normal application of these rules, or to clarify situations that might be interpreted in different ways, Franco used a sign known as a *divisio modi* or *signum perfectionis* (division of the mode or sign of perfection). The two terms are simply different names for the same sign—a short vertical line that later practice transformed into a dot (*punctus*) of division or perfection. Placed between two notes, the sign prevents their belonging to the same perfection and thus functions somewhat in the manner of the modern barline. The notes  $\text{long} \text{ breve } \text{long}$ , for example, must be read as  $\text{long} \text{ breve } \text{long}$  instead of  $\text{long} \text{ long}$ , which they would be without the sign of perfection. Franco used the same sign to separate groups of two and three semibreves, a practice that made it possible to notate the rhythmic innovations of Pierre de la Croix.

More detailed knowledge of Franco's rules is scarcely necessary for an appreciation of their effect.<sup>16</sup> Even when it used nothing but longs and breves, mensural notation could introduce rhythms such as  $\text{long} \text{ breve } \text{long}$  or  $\text{long} \text{ breve } \text{long}$  that broke down the rigidity of the rhythmic modes. As Franco himself said: "Observe also that all the modes may run together in a single discant, for through perfections all are reduced to one. Nor need one attempt to determine the mode to which such a discant belongs, although it may be said to belong to the one in which it chiefly or frequently remains."<sup>17</sup> Still greater freedom

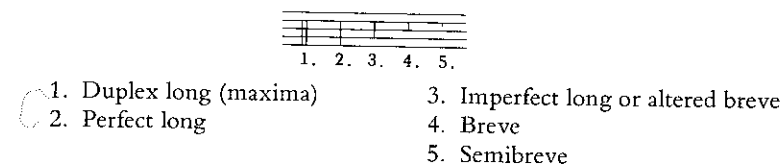
16. For fuller discussions of Franco's principles and rules, see Reese, MMA, p. 289 ff.; Apel, NPM, Part 3, Chapters 4 and 5; and Parrish, NMM, Chapter 5.

17. Strunk, SR, p. 151.

came, as we have seen, in the post-Franconian division of the breve into four or more semibreves. The rhythmic modes had given birth to a notational system by whose potential for further development they would ultimately be destroyed.

Franco's contributions to the development of a precise notation were not limited to his treatment of single notes. He also devised, or standardized, signs that indicated the exact values of rests, and he established a system for identifying the values of notes written in ligatures. The signs for rests depended on the principle that a line through one space on the staff represented the duration of a breve or one tempus. It thus became possible to indicate rests that correspond with the different values of individual notes (Example XIV-1).<sup>18</sup> With these signs available for rests of any value or combination of values, mensural notation gained both in precision and in its ability to express new and more flexible rhythmic patterns.

Example XIV-1: Rests in Franconian Notation








The problem of ligatures was more complex and less easy to solve. Pre-Franconian notation anticipated to a large extent Franco's principles for the treatment of single notes and even of rests. In the matter of ligatures, however, the forms of modal notation were commonly used with only slight modifications. Theorists recognized rather quickly that changes in the form of a ligature could indicate different combinations of long and short notes, but the various meanings of three-note ligatures in modal notation made it difficult to reduce those changes to a system. Franco overcame this difficulty by taking the normal forms of two-note ligatures in plainchant notation as his standard ( $\text{long} \text{ breve}$  and  $\text{breve} \text{ long}$ ). From their use in modal notation, these forms acquired the meaning breve-long and were described as being "with propriety" and "with perfection." Changing the form of the first note by adding or omitting a tail removed its propriety and it became a long. An upward tail gave it "opposite propriety," and both notes became semibreves. Similarly, changes in the form of the second note removed its perfection, and it became a breve. Here, because the use of tails was impractical and might be confused with plicas, the descending ligature was written as an oblique bar. In the ascending ligature, turning the head

18. Franco proposed major and minor semibreve rests that covered  $2/3$  and  $1/3$  of the space above a line (see Strunk, SR, p. 150, and Reese, MMA, p. 290). These proved to be impractical and were soon replaced by the semibreve rest shown in Example XIV-1.

of the second note to the right instead of the left indicated lack of perfection. These various changes gave each two-note ligature five different forms, one for each of the five possible combinations of notes (see Table 12). In dealing with ligatures of three or more notes, Franco used exactly the same procedures for indicating the values of the first and last notes. All notes in between were breves except in ligatures with opposite propriety, which began with two semibreves. The rules that governed single notes determined the *values* of longs and breves, but the *kinds* of notes in ligatures of any length could now be identified as certainly as if they stood alone. By this achievement, Franco of Cologne completed the liberation of mensural notation from its dependence on the modal system and made it a self-sufficient system of its own.

Table 12: *The Forms and Values of Two-Note Ligatures*

With propriety and with perfection		B L
With propriety and without perfection		B B
Without propriety and with perfection		L L
Without propriety and without perfection		L B
With opposite propriety		Sb Sb

## THE MOTET ENTÉ

After this digression into notational problems, we may get back to the music itself and to one of the most distinctive practices in thirteenth-century French motets: the quotation of texts and melodies that presumably originated as refrains of monophonic songs. In a few cases, the entire text of a motet appears to consist of nothing but refrains. As a more usual procedure, however, a refrain is grafted (*enté*) onto a new text and melody (or vice versa) to produce what is known as a *motet enté*. The grafting was often so skillfully done that neither the text nor the melody suggests the presence of a refrain, and recognition of a motet enté depends upon discovery of the quotation in some other source.

As we saw in Chapter XII, two valuable sources for the identification of refrains are the trouvère "chanson with refrains" and contemporary narrative poems. The four refrains quoted in *Penser ne doit vilenie* (AMM, No. 47) have already been discussed in some detail, but we may return to them here because each occurs in a number of other sources, including motets. For convenient comparison, all appearances of the first three refrains with music are assembled in Example XIV-2. The first seems to have enjoyed the greatest literary popularity, for it is quoted exactly—but without music—in several different poems. Its ap-

### Example XIV-2: *Refrains in Penser ne doit and Quotations with Music in Other Sources*

*Penser ne doit*, I  
Mo, No. 42, triplum, measures 8-11



*Penser ne doit*, II  
Renart le Nouvel, line 7008  
Mo, No. 175, triplum, measures 33-40



*Penser ne doit*, III  
Mo, No. 281, triplum, measures 20-26 (AMM, No. 53)



- I. I have loves in my heart that keep me gay.  
(Then loves sting me that keep me gay.)
- II. To the most delightful one in the world have I given my heart.
- III. I have a love, pretty little love, so I shall love.

pearance in a motet, however, may be open to question. The texts of the refrain and the quotation in the motet correspond only in part, and musical resemblances are even slighter. The text of the second refrain, on the other hand, appears unchanged in a motet, but with a melody that has been both transposed and considerably altered. The melody with the refrain in *Le Roman de Renart le Nouvel* (The Story of the New Renard the Fox) is even more divergent. In motets, evidently, textual quotation



was more important than musical, and composers felt free to modify the melodies to make them fit the polyphonic context. Nevertheless, many musical quotations introduce no more variants than are to be found in different monophonic versions of the same melody. This is true of the third refrain in *Penser ne doit*, which appears in measures 20–26 of the triplum in the motet *Dame de valor—Hei Diex!—Amoris* (AMM, No. 53). The fourth stanza and refrain of the chanson, as noted in Chapter XII, occur only in manuscripts that do not give the melody, but three quotations of the refrain with music provide alternate endings for the transcription in AMM.

The grafting of refrains onto motets takes place in a number of different ways. In many cases, a refrain is introduced at an appropriate point within the motet text, as happened with the refrain quoted in the triplum *Dame de valor*. More often, refrains appear at the beginning or end, and two-line refrains may provide the first and last lines of a motet text. A motet *enté*, of course, was not limited to the quotation of a single refrain. Unrelated refrains may appear at the beginning and end of a single text; the two texts of a motet may simultaneously quote different refrains; and still other quotations may occur within the same texts. Diligent scholarship over the years has identified a great many such quotations, and modern editions of motets usually indicate their presence by printing them in italics. We can now appreciate, therefore, the extent to which composers adopted the practice of quoting refrains and the skill with which they made those refrains an integral part of their polyphonic compositions.

#### RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE MOTET AND SECULAR MONOPHONY

The inclusion of refrains in longer texts was by no means the only musical connection between the motet and secular monophonic song. A number of motets consist of nothing but a plainchant tenor combined either with a complete dance song or simply with a refrain. Motets of the latter sort are short, and the few that have been preserved are in non-mensural notation, leaving considerable doubt as to their rhythmic interpretation. The transcription offered in Example XIV-3, therefore, need not be accepted as definitive.<sup>19</sup> Motets in which an upper voice is a complete six- or eight-line rondeau were more common and evidently more attractive to thirteenth-century composers. Among these pieces, one of the most interesting is *C'est la jus—Pro patribus* (AMM, No. 55). The duplum melody of this motet can be traced back to a Notre Dame clausula in yet another illustration of the tangled but fascinating interrelationships that bind together all medieval music. AMM, No. 56

19. For a facsimile of *Renvoisement* and two different rhythmic interpretations, see Apel, NPM, pp. 277–79.

#### Example XIV-3: A Refrain as a Complete Motet



Happily I go there to my friend. So should one go to one's friend.

provides a later example of a complete six-line rondeau in the duplum of a motet.

Literary and musical relationships between motets and trouvère chansons are not limited to the quotation of refrains or the use of complete dance songs. In a number of instances, a complete stanza of a trouvère chanson appears with its melody as the duplum of a motet. Which of the two came first is often difficult to determine, but the existence of some of these motets as textless clausulae suggests that some trouvères participated in writing motet texts, if not the music itself. Both dance songs and trouvère chansons also appear as the tenor parts of some thirty motets in the thirteenth-century repertory. Some of these French tenors have the complete text underlaid; others have only textual incipits and were presumably played by instruments. Four of the textless tenors seem to be excerpts from instrumental dances known as *estampies* (see below). In one well-known motet, the tenor *Frese nouvele* (Fresh strawberries) is believed to be a Paris street vendor's cry. Above four repetitions of this tenor melody, two upper voices celebrate the joys of life in Paris, evidently much the same then as now.<sup>20</sup>

#### POLYPHONIC SECULAR SONGS

In describing the state of music as he knew it around 1300, Johannes de Grocheo remarked that the motet was not suited for the common people but only for the educated and those who sought subtlety in art. Thus it was, says Grocheo, that motets were sung at festivals for the edification of the educated, just as rondeaux were sung at festivals of the folk. The common practice of quoting refrains in motets makes it clear that the educated knew the music of the folk and took pleasure in recognizing its subtle appearance in their own art. The use of a complete dance song, either as the tenor or upper voice of a motet, may also have been an admired subtlety, but it also suggests a desire to provide polyphonic

20. HAM, No. 33b.

settings for the more popular kinds of song. To satisfy that desire, composers naturally turned to the motet, almost the sole polyphonic form then being cultivated. The solution presented obvious difficulties. Plainchant tenors could rarely be combined with a long preexistent melody, and they tended to discourage if not to prohibit the use of repetitive musical forms in an upper voice. Placing the dance song in the tenor removed this difficulty but increased the complexity of the motet by adding another active voice, which might have a complete and different text. After following both of these paths, composers evidently came to realize the basic incompatibility between popular polyphony and the subtle art of the motet. They continued to write secular motets, but they also sought to develop an independent type of polyphonic secular song.

For being the first to create a form of secular polyphony unrelated to the motet, credit must apparently be given to the trouvère Adam de la Hale. As we noted in Chapter XII, the bulk of Adam's musical output consisted of monophonic chansons (34) and jeux partis (17). However, he also composed five motets and sixteen polyphonic settings of secular songs that the manuscript collection of his works calls *Li Rondel Adan* (see above, p. 300). All sixteen polyphonic songs are for three voices, and all bear a striking resemblance to the simple conductus, even to the point of being notated in score. It was probably this obsolete style, indeed, that suggested to Adam an appropriate means of providing a simple dance song with a polyphonic setting. One new development is curious, however. Instead of the tenor, the middle voice seems to be the most important of the three. The melody of this voice, at any rate, usually appears when a motet or a poem with refrains quotes one of Adam's rondeaux. Adam did this himself when he used the refrain of *A Dieu commant amouretes* (To God I commend my love) to frame the duplum text and melody of a motet.<sup>21</sup> The same procedure was applied to the rondeau *He, Diex!* (Example XIV-4), which illustrates in its short span all the essential features of Adam's polyphonic songs. Two different motets, both anonymous, quote the refrain of this rondeau with the melody of the middle voice exactly as it appears in Adam's three-voice setting.<sup>22</sup>

The simplicity of Adam's polyphonic rondeaux makes it reasonable to assume that they were meant to be used as music for dancing. In performing round dances of this type, the entire group sang the refrains, but the leader of the dance presumably sang the intervening lines alone. This characteristic procedure could have been accommodated to the polyphonic settings in several ways. Three-part singing of the choral

21. N. Wilkins, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Hale*, Rondeau No. 5 and Motet No. 1.

22. *Mo*, No. 291, triplum, mm. 53-57, and No. 302, duplum, mm. 67-71. Both motets are included in Wilkins, *Lyric Works* (Nos. 9 and 10).

Example XIV-4: Rondeau of Adam de la Hale



A	He, Diex! quant verrai	Ah God, when shall I see
B	cheli que j'aim?	her whom I love?
a	Certes je ne sai,	Indeed I know not,
A	He, Diex! quant verrai.	Ah God, when I shall see.
a	De vir son cors gai	To see her lively self
b	muir tout de faim.	I die of hunger.
A	He, Diex! quant verrai	Ah God, when shall I see
B	cheli que j'aim?	her whom I love?

refrain might be answered by the soloist's singing of the principal melody, either alone or with instrumental performance of the other voices. It is even possible that both chorus and soloist sang only the middle voice, while instruments played the tenor and triplum. Indeed, these polyphonic rondeaux may represent the first attempt to write down instrumental accompaniments that had hitherto been improvised. The simplicity of the tenors, in particular, suggests the kind of melody that a skilled improviser could easily add to a well-known refrain. The resemblance of these rondeaux to the simple conductus would then be explained by their common ancestry in the practice of improvising and writing note-against-note counterpoint.

Short as they are, and whatever their ancestry and manner of performance, the polyphonic rondeaux of Adam de la Hale mark a turning point in the history of secular song. Released from the hampering conventions and polytextual complexities of the motet, secular polyphony could now develop an individual and more appropriate musical style. This it did with astonishing rapidity and with results that were perhaps unexpected. After being almost the only type of solo song for some two hundred years, secular monophony dwindled in importance until it all but disappeared by the middle of the fourteenth century. In the same span of about fifty years, the rondeau, ballade, and virelai lost their connection with the dance and became elaborate art songs for highly skilled singers. These songs were now polyphonic pieces with one vocal melody and one or more additional parts to be played by instruments. Emphasis on polyphonic as opposed to monophonic secular song brought with it other changes as well. The technical skills required for the com-

position of polyphony made the traditional poet-musician increasingly obsolete. Composers became professionals known for their music alone, and vast quantities of lyric poetry began to be produced with no thought that it would ever be sung. Only one man, Guillaume de Machaut (c. 1300–77), delayed this separation of lyric poetry from song. No later composer is known to students of literature as an important poet, and no later poet is known to students of music as an important composer. For this, if for no other reason, Machaut has deservedly been called the last of the *trouvères*. But Machaut looked forward as well as back; and, by both the quantity and quality of his work, he set the standards for French poetry and song and determined the direction of their future development. It will therefore be no surprise to find that a discussion of French music in the fourteenth century must be largely devoted to one of the greatest and most influential figures in the history of music.

#### MINOR FORMS AND COMPOSITIONAL DEVICES

Before beginning to consider fourteenth-century French music and the works of Machaut, we must mention some less common musical forms and compositional techniques of the thirteenth century. The forms are minor because they occur in a relatively small number of pieces, and the techniques may also be classed as minor because they rarely form the basis for an entire composition. Both the forms and techniques are important, nevertheless, for they continued in use beyond the thirteenth century and provided a starting point for the development of more sophisticated methods of musical organization.

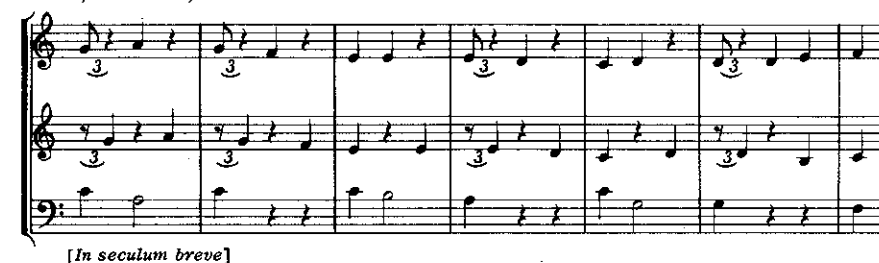
#### HOCKET

Medieval theorists defined *hocket* as a “truncation” in which one voice sings while another is silent. An obvious reference to the musical effect, the name *hocket* comes from the Latin and French words for hiccup (*hoquetus* and *hoquet*, in a variety of spellings). As a device, hocket appears to have evolved from short overlapping phrases, often combined with voice exchange, in the upper voices of triple and quadruple organum and the caudae of conducti. In later thirteenth-century usage, however, the simplest form of hocket alternated single notes and rests, usually in the two upper voices of a motet. The notes and rests may be of the same or different values, but the notes of each voice fill in the rests of the other. As may be seen in Example XIV–5, the net result of two such hiccuping voices is often a single melodic line.

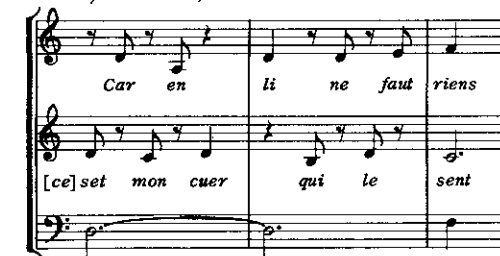
As a rule, longer hocket passages are reserved for melismatic polyphony; passages with text are usually short and introduce a momentary contrast to the normal motet style. In neither case, however, is hocket introduced to no purpose, although that purpose may sometimes be difficult to determine. Some hocket passages are exclamatory or descriptive; others function as structural elements by underlining the organization of the tenor, a use of hocket that becomes increasingly important in the next century. In a few motets, hocket appears in melismatic extensions and conclusions, where it creates a free variation of previously heard melodies. In some instances, finally, hocket technique is applied throughout a piece. This is the case in all but one of the seven “instrumental motets” at the end of the Bamberg manuscript, from one of which Example XIV–5a was taken.<sup>23</sup> Pieces of this sort, in both medieval and modern terminology, are called *hockets*, and the name thus designates a genre as well as a technique.

#### Example XIV–5: Two Excerpts Illustrating the Use of Hocket

##### a. *Ba*, NO. 106, MEASURES 17–23



##### b. *Mo*, NO. 332, MEASURES 17–19



Triplum: For in her nothing is lacking.  
Duplum: [This] my heart knows, which feels it.

23. The pieces are Nos. 102–08 in *Ba*. A facsimile of No. 106 is available in Parrish, NMM, Pl. XXXVI. No. 108 is published in HAM, No. 32e, but the transcription of semibreve notes and rests as equal values is incorrect. Instead of the rhythms  $\text{♩}$  and  $\text{♩}$ , rests in the original clearly indicate that the correct values should be  $\text{♩}$  and  $\text{♩}$ .

## RONDELLUS

The compositional technique known as *rondellus* is much less common than *hocket* but is interesting and important nonetheless. Cultivated primarily but not exclusively by English composers, the *rondellus* was described by the English theorist Walter Odington (c. 1300) as consisting of two or three simultaneous melodies sung by each voice in turn. The example he cites is for three voices and has six melodies or phrases in the following arrangement:

Triplum	<i>b c a e f d</i>
Duplum	<i>c a b f d e</i>
Tenor	<i>a b c d e f</i>

Clearly, a *rondellus* is no more than an elaborate and complete form of voice exchange, which presupposes the equal voices of *conductus* style. Odington says, indeed, that unless all the voices sing the melodies in order, the piece is a *conductus* and not a *rondellus*. Thus, although *rondellus* technique may be used throughout a piece, the term designates a method rather than a type of composition. An interesting example occurs in a *cauda* of a much longer *conductus*, where three melodies are used, and the set of three combinations is repeated exactly.<sup>24</sup> In this way, the *rondellus* becomes a *round*, which successive instead of simultaneous entries would convert into a normal circular or perpetual canon:

$$\begin{bmatrix} a & b \\ a \end{bmatrix} \parallel \begin{bmatrix} a & b & c \\ c & a & b \\ b & c & a \end{bmatrix}$$

From *rondellus* technique, obviously it is but a short step to the most famous of all medieval compositions, *Sumer is icumen in*. The piece is a four-part canon at the unison above a two-part *pes* (foot), a term the English often used in place of *tenor*. The canon differs from a *rondellus* in having the voices enter one after another and also in being a nonrepetitive melody in the leading voice. Instead of true voice exchange, therefore, the shifting combinations of four parts always include one new melodic phrase, as the following diagram will show:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} a & b & c & d & e & f & g \\ a & b & c & d & e & f & \\ a & b & c & d & e & & \text{etc.} \\ a & b & c & d & & & \end{array}$$

24. Cited in part by Anselm Hughes, *NOHM*, 2, p. 376, Ex. 203.

The *pes*, on the other hand, is a perfect example of a two-part *rondellus* as defined by Walter Odington. Throughout the entire piece, the voices do nothing but interchange two short phrases in an *ostinato* pattern that oscillates continuously between chords on *F* and *G* (Example XIV-6). This harmonic structure might seem monotonous, but it provides a firm support for the lively rhythms and ever-changing combinations of melodic phrases in the four-part canon. Although the use of six voices results in a full sound that supposedly reflects English taste, it does not produce six-part harmony. Instead, unison doublings reduce the number of notes actually sounding at one time to a maximum of four, more often to three, sometimes to only two. All of these characteristics, together with the *F*-major sound of the canonic melody, lend the piece a popular air that seems to deny its structural complexity. It is undoubtedly this ingenious simplicity that makes *Sumer is icumen in* so attractive to modern audiences.<sup>25</sup>

Example XIV-6: *Pes* of *Sumer is icumen in*

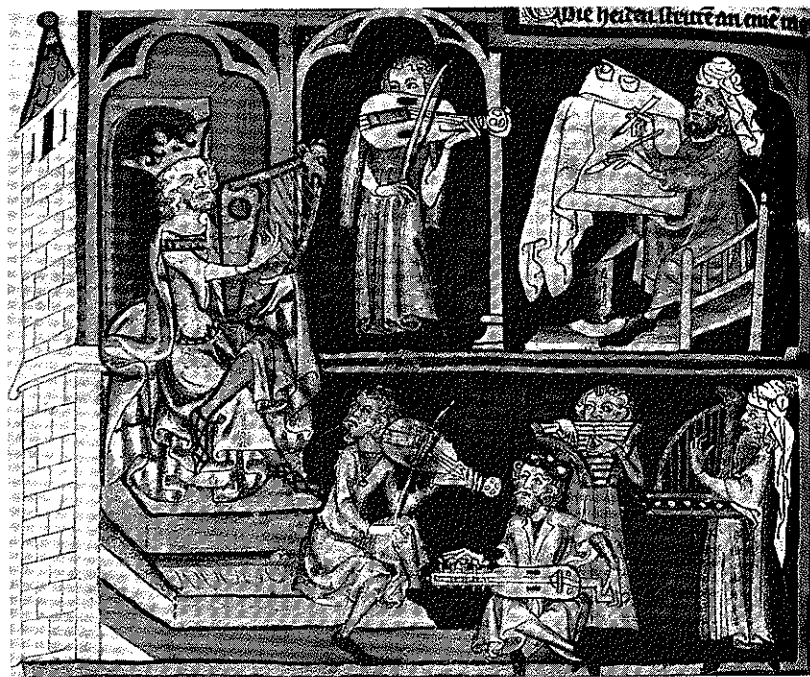


## INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

The dearth of manuscript evidence for instrumental music in the Middle Ages is both astonishing and mysterious. Writers and theorists make countless references to instruments and their practical uses. Manuscript illustrations and cathedral sculptures depict a wide variety of instruments, often in connection with singing or dancing, but sometimes in ways that suggest either solo or ensemble performance. Peasants reportedly played instruments for their rustic dances.<sup>26</sup> Jongleurs were expected to play as many as ten instruments according to the *Conseils aux Jongler* (Advice to Jongleurs) written by Guiraut de Calanson in 1210. Troubadours and trouvères presumably sang their songs to instrumental accompaniment. In short, there is abundant evidence that instruments played a vital role in medieval musical life at every social level, yet only a handful of purely instrumental pieces has been preserved. Several factors probably account for this situation. Instrumental performance seems to have been largely the province of jongleurs, whose music has either been lost or, as is more likely, was never written

25. Problematic aspects of the *Sumer* canon and its dating will be considered in the essay on minor forms and techniques of the thirteenth century.

26. For example, in the text of *Au tems pascor*, *AMM*, No. 45.



Various instruments are shown in this depiction of King David with scribe and musicians (by permission of Zentral Bibliothek, Zurich).

down. Peasants too probably had a repertory of both song and dance tunes that were passed on solely by oral tradition. And at all levels of society, apparently, vocal music provided the chief source of material for instrumental performance. Numerous poems speak of musicians playing chansons or lais or ballades on a variety of instruments, and Johannes de Grocheo says that "a good artist plays on the viol every *cantus* and *cantilena* and every musical form in general."<sup>27</sup>

Most of the references to instrumental performance, either in poems or in theoretical treatises, are concerned with monophonic songs and dances. It is probable, however, that players provided troubadour and trouvère songs with simple improvised accompaniments. We have also noted the likelihood that instruments took over the performance of motet tenors and thus introduced accompanied duets and trios as well as solo songs. Instrumental doubling of the vocal lines is a further probability from which it is but a short step to the substitution of instruments for voices. It has been suggested that the *caudae* of *conducti* were designed for instrumental performance and "may prove to be a valuable source for thirteenth-century dance music."<sup>28</sup> Such an assumption is a bit farfetched, perhaps, but vocal polyphony undoubtedly did provide music for instrumental ensembles. A few pieces in vocal forms even appear to have been intended for instrumental performance.

27. Reese, MMA, p. 327.

28. NOHM, 2, p. 337. Examples are recorded as independent instrumental pieces in HMS, 2.

One group of such pieces may be the *clausulae* in the St. Victor manuscript (see above, p. 326, fn. 1). In many cases, the short texts are incorrectly placed under the tenor melismas and seem to function merely as identifying tags. It has sometimes been assumed, therefore, that these *clausulae* were not meant to be sung in spite of their existence as motets, which some scholars believe to be their original form. Yet the state in which the pieces are preserved in the St. Victor manuscript is really independent of their origin, either as motets or *clausulae*. If the text placement is not simply the result of scribal carelessness, it does suggest an intent to use the melismatic form of these pieces for instrumental performance.

Much less problematical are the already-mentioned "instrumental motets" in the Bamberg Codex (Nos. 102–08). The designation is paradoxical, of course, but it seems more appropriate than "*clausula*," which these seven pieces also resemble. They are all notated in score with two parts above a plainchant tenor in a repeated rhythmic pattern. Like the later secular motets, these pieces would seem to have lost all connection with organum, and their textless state, together with their use of *hocket*, makes the assumption of instrumental performance unavoidable.

## INSTRUMENTAL DANCES

A favorite pastime in the Middle Ages, dancing obviously required some form of musical accompaniment. Dance songs provided much of that accompaniment and may sometimes have been played by instruments alone, although in manuscript sources they exist only as songs. One dance, the *estampie*, does occur as both an instrumental piece and a poetic form. Unfortunately, poems identified as *estampies* are without music, except for the famous *Kalenda Maya* (The first of May; see p. 274, fn. 23), by the troubadour Rambaut de Vaqueiras (fl. 1180–1207). This piece antedates by about one hundred years the first trouvère poems and the first instrumental dances that scribes identified as *estampies*.<sup>29</sup> We also have theoretical descriptions of the *estampie* as both a poetic and musical form. Despite this combination of seemingly happy circumstances, many aspects of the form remain obscure and even controversial. What can be given here with reasonable certainty is a description of pieces that medieval scribes labelled *estampie*.

The first such pieces were added in mensural notation to the manuscript of trouvère songs known as the *Chansonier du Roy*.<sup>30</sup> They ap-

29. The poetic *estampies* are published in W. Streng-Renkonen, *Les Estampies françaises* (Paris, 1930).

30. The dances appear on pp. 7 and 176v–77v of the published facsimile (see Bibliography to Chapters XI–XII). The last page, with four *estampies* and the *danse real*, is reproduced in Parrish, NMM, Pl. XLII.





The various musical forms derived from the dance attest to its popularity throughout the Middle Ages (from a fifteenth-century German woodcut).

pear as a group of eight dances, each of which is numbered and identified as an *estampie royal*. A *danse real* follows the estampies, and two other textless dances were added elsewhere in the manuscript. One is unidentified; the other is called simply *danse*.<sup>31</sup> All of these dances are monophonic, and each consists of several repeated sections or *puncta*. The estampies have from four to seven *puncta*; the two dances and the unidentified piece have only three.

Because the repetitive structure of these dances is usually indicated in letters as *aa bb cc dd* etc., it is easy to see why the estampie, like the lai, is often said to be derived from the sequence. In many respects, however, the estampie stands apart from both vocal forms, which themselves differ in essential ways (see above, p. 291). The most distinctive aspect of the dance form becomes obvious when we note that the *puncta* of an estampie are not entirely different melodies. They all will have the same open and closed endings and usually the same preceding phrase or phrases. In the fourth estampie, for example, only the opening phrases of four or six measures are different in each of the seven *puncta*.<sup>32</sup> If the letter indication of such a form is not to be misleading, it must show the repeated material, perhaps in the following way: *aXY<sub>o</sub> aXY<sub>c</sub> bXY<sub>o</sub> bXY<sub>c</sub> cXY<sub>o</sub> cXY<sub>c</sub>* etc. Of the eleven dances in the *Chansonnier du Roy*, only the *Danse real* gives no clear indication of repeated *puncta*, and the piece has been said to lack first and second endings. Given the form of

the other ten dances, however, it is probable that repeats were intended, with endings as suggested in AMM, No. 57. In any case, the three *puncta* again differ only in their opening five-measure phrases. Rather than treating the estampie and the lai as derivatives of the sequence, therefore, we should probably regard the three forms as different applications of a common structural principle that may well be much older than any of its medieval manifestations. That principle—repetition of each musical section—might even have originated in connection with the recurrent movements of a dance. It would then be the vocal forms that adapted the principle to their varying needs.

Other medieval dances take us beyond the chronological or geographical limits of the present chapter, but they should at least be mentioned here. English sources from the thirteenth century preserve four untitled pieces presumed to be dances and sometimes even called estampies. Only one is monophonic, and three are two-part pieces in modal notation.<sup>33</sup> All four pieces have repetitive structures, but none corresponds exactly with the form of the French estampie. In both style and structural procedures, indeed, the three polyphonic pieces more closely resemble the *caudae* of conducti and may have provided the basis for the suggestion that *caudae* are a repository of contemporary dance music (see p. 348).

Another English source, a fragmentary manuscript known as the Robertsbridge Codex, dates from around 1325 and preserves the earliest known music for a keyboard instrument. The collection consists of three dances, the first incomplete, and three transcriptions of motets, the last also incomplete.<sup>34</sup> In this case, the complete dances, although not identified as estampies, do correspond exactly with the monophonic French form. The vocal forms of the complete motets, moreover, appear among the interpolations in the French *Roman de Fauvel* (see Chapter XV). Whether the music is of English origin is therefore problematical. Perhaps the greatest significance of the Robertsbridge Codex lies in its inclusion of both dances and transcriptions of vocal pieces, two types of composition that have contributed ever since to the repertory of keyboard instruments.

A final collection of medieval dances is included in an Italian manuscript devoted primarily to fourteenth-century secular polyphony.<sup>35</sup>

31. The *danse* is published in HAM, No. 40a, as a "Danse Royale." No. 40b, also called a "Danse Royale," is the fourth estampie royal.

32. HAM, No. 40b.

33. The monophonic dance is HAM, No. 40c; of the two-part pieces, the first two are in HAM, No. 41a and b; the third is in Gleason, EM, p. 56. Facsimile in Apel, NPM, p. 239.

34. For the entire contents of the Robertsbridge Codex, together with the two *Fauvel* motets, see W. Apel, *Keyboard Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (AIM, 1963), pp. 1–9.

35. The manuscript is now in the British Museum (Add. 29987). For a facsimile with Index and Introduction by G. Reaney, see MSD, 13. The dances appear on fols. 55v–58 and 60–63v. Transcriptions, some incomplete, may be found in J. Wolf, "Die Tänze des Mittelalters," AMW, I (1918–19), pp. 24–42.

Heading this collection of fifteen monophonic pieces is the designation *istanpitta*, which evidently applies to the first eight dances. The term is not repeated, but a note on fol. 58 indicates the continuation of "this *istanpita*" (the fifth dance) on fol. 60. After the eighth dance, the collection continues with seven pieces including four *saltarelli*, one *trotto*, and two entitled *Lamento di Tristano* and *La Manfredina*.<sup>36</sup> An interesting aspect of the collection is its similar use of titles for the eight estampies: Some appear to be names (Ghaetta, Isabella, Belicha), others are phrases such as *Chominciamento di gioia* (Beginning of joy) and *Principio di virtu* (Source of virtue). Whatever connection there may have been between these titles and the music is now unknown, but they foreshadow the fanciful titles in dance suites of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

All fifteen dances in the collection follow the structural principles of the earlier French dances in the *Chansonniere du Roy*. Each consists of a series of puncta, usually four to six, that have different opening phrases but close by repeating some or all of the first punctum, with its open and closed endings. There are significant differences, however, between the Italian *istanpitte* and the earlier French estampies and also between the two groups of Italian dances. Indeed, the *istanpitte* stand alone in having long and complex puncta. These characteristics make them seem unsuitable for dancing, and they should probably be regarded as pieces to be played for a listening audience. The other seven Italian pieces have much shorter and simpler puncta and could well have served as music for dancing. Although the *trotto* is the only dance of its kind, it is typical of the group as a whole in both form and style (AMM, No. 58). The dance consists of five puncta or *partes* (sing. *pars*), the last four of which provide new introductions to repeats of part or all of the *prima pars* (first part). The third part expands the introduction of the second, and both lead into the third measure of the first. Similarly, the fifth part expands the beginning of the fourth, but these two lead to repetitions of the complete first part. Each part, of course is to be played twice, with open and closed endings.<sup>37</sup>

One further aspect of the Italian dances should not pass unnoticed. Instead of being single pieces, the *Lamento di Tristano* and *La Manfredina* are pairs of related dances. The opening dance in each pair consists of three *partes* that are followed by a second set of three entitled *La Rotta* and *La Rotta della Manfredina* respectively. The meaning of the designation *rotta* is unclear, but it is certain that each one belongs with and completes the dance it follows. Thus the fourteenth century introduced the pairing of related dances that became common in the Renaissance and created a nucleus for the development of the Baroque dance suite.

36. For the *Lamento* and a saltarello, see HAM, No. 59a and b. Another saltarello is available in GMB, No. 28.

37. Wolf and, following him, Gleason (EM, p. 57) ignored the explicit indications of *partes* in the manuscript.

## CHAPTER XV

### The Ars Nova in France

Cultural historians often speak of the thirteenth century as the high point, or the classic period, of medieval life and art. They emphasize its stability, its reconciliation of divine revelation and human reason, its religion-centered unity of spirit. To these and other factors we owe magnificent achievements in architecture, literature, and music. But the classic spirit is essentially static, and the dynamic forces that reject classicism lead inevitably to new and different achievements. In the realm of music, the early fourteenth-century Frenchmen implied their scorn of the outmoded and old-fashioned music of the previous century when they called their own music an *ars nova*, a new art. The term has since come to signify, somewhat unjustifiably, the music of western Europe in the fourteenth century. Looking back over six and a half centuries, we may find this music less novel than its creators did. Yet the same spirit that produced the Ars Nova animated the Italian creators of the *Nuove Musiche* in the early seventeenth century and the creators of the more obviously "new music" of the twentieth century. As always, that innovative spirit opened up new horizons and gave a new direction to the art of music.

Evidence that musicians recognized the novelty of early fourteenth-century music appears around 1320 in the form of two treatises: the *Ars nove musice* (Art of New Music) by Johannes de Muris, and the *Ars nova* of Philippe de Vitry. The *Ars nove musice* is probably the older of the two, but Vitry's work gave its name to the music of the fourteenth century. This fact and our scanty knowledge about Johannes de Muris have tended to obscure his greater importance and influence as a musical theorist.<sup>1</sup> He apparently spent his young manhood in Paris, first as a student and then as a teacher, and it was at this time that he produced "a body of theoretical writings far more substantial and distinguished than Philippe's."<sup>2</sup> He does not seem to have been active as a composer of music, and later in life he devoted himself primarily to studies in mathe-

1. For information about J. de Muris, see L. Gushee, "New Sources for the Biography of Johannes de Muris," JAMS, 22 (1969), pp. 3-26.

2. Ibid., p. 3.